1: Karsten--2-3 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"The different Jibaro tribes generally take their names from the small affluents of the main rivers, on the banks of which they have fixed their homes. This fact explains the great number of Indian names that [3] we meet in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. Thus on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorian Andes, in the regions round the river Santiago and its tributaries, we find such tribes as the Arapicos, the Chirapas, the Upanos, the Pautes, the Santiagos, the Gualaquizas. On the Morona, there are the Cusulimas, the Huambizas, etc.; on the Pastaza, the Copatazas, the Achuares, the Antipas, and so forth.

All these tribes belong to the Jibaro race and are consequently closely related to each other anthropologically as well as in their language, customs, and beliefs. There is no larger group of Indians of which the Jibaros form a part. Both anthropologically and linguistically they form a group of their own, in their physical and their mental characteristics greatly differing from the tribes surrounding them. Their culture is certainly one of the most important and interesting native cultures at present existing in the whole of South America."

1: Karsten--9-10 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 101, 171 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaro tribes I include, as a particular sub-tribe, the Canelos Indians, and this may seem to require a special explanation. The village of Canelos is the greatest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in the Ecuadorian Oriente. The Indians living in this region are not pure Jibaros, as they are erroneously described by Rivet, and do not form a homogeneous group. They are a mixed race, formed partly by Indians of Jibaro origin, partly by Quichua-speaking Indians from the Sierra, partly by Záparos from the Rio Curaray and the Rio Tigre. Among the Jibaros who in former times moved into Canelos and subjected themselves to the influence of the Catholic missionaries three important families or clans are particularly mentioned, namely, the Gayas, the Tanchimas, and the Cuhis. These as well as other Jibaro families have fused with the other tribes, thus giving rise to the peculiar native race known under the name of Canelos Indians. Their anthropological affinity with the mountain Indians shows itself especially in their strong build of body, whereas their close relationship with the Jibaros proper is made manifest in their whole material and intellectual culture. It is owing to this fact that I treat them here in connection with the Jibaros. On the other hand, in many of their customs and beliefs they have also been influenced by their relatives in the Sierra, with whom moreover they have a com-

mon lan-[10] guage. Their language consequently is Quichua, although some of them also speak or understand the Jibaro language. The native words and phrases I use in this book when describing the culture of the Canelos Indians are therefore Quichua, just as those used by me with reference to the Jibaros proper belong to the Jibaro language.

The Canelos Indians number about 2000 individuals. They live partly in the mission of Canelos, partly in the village Pacayacu, situated two days journey by canoe farther down the river. Besides this, among the Canelos Indians are generally reckoned the Indians of Curayacu, a village situated three days journey southwards from Pacayacu. These Indians, however, as is shown by their physical appearance, originally belonged to a different native race.

All the so-called Canelos Indians are now Christians in name, being under the influence of the Catholic monks of the Dominican Order, but as usual they have preserved many of their ancient customs and beliefs. Formerly, when the Indians of Canelos were at war with the wild Jibaros, they adopted their savage methods of fighting their enemies, and even head-feasts are said to have been celebrated in secret. And although witchcraft certainly plays a great role among the Jibaros, the wizards of Canelos are supposed to outdo even their heathen colleagues in this mysterious art."

I: Karsten--80 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
171 (1928-29)

"On the whole a great uniformity characterizes the Jibaro culture in spite of the enormous areas which it covers and the numerous sub-tribes into which the people is divided. The same seems to be true of their customs and religious beliefs, as far as I have been able to study them."

Jr Karsten--163-165 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 278, 171 (1928-29)

"The arrow-poisons in vogue among the Indians of Western Amazonas seem to belong to the class known under the general name of 'curare', [166] of which one of the most important ingredients is the alcaloid poison found in various Strychnos species. The Macusi Indians of Guiana are the best known of the South American arrow-poison makers, and it is possible that this invention--one of the most ingenious of those of savage peoples--was originally passed on to the Indians of the Amazon territory. However this may be, it must be stated at once that even in Eastern Ecuador and Peru the 'curare' poisons differ considerably; nay, there are even arrow-poisons of which we do not know with certainty whether they can be called 'curare' at all, for instance the one used by the savage Aviahiries living in the region of the river Curaray and its affluent Villano. According to the statements of the rubber collectors who have been in contact with this little known tribe, their arrow-poison is exceedingly effective, and their blow-guns, which I have seen myself, are of a type differing greatly from those used by other Indian tribes in the Ecuadorian Oriente. In general, the arrow-poisons used by the Indians of these regions are very imperfectly known, so that the information I was able to gain about those in vogue among the Canelos Indians and the Jibaros of the Pastaza, although incomplete from a pharmacological point of view, may be of considerable interest.

Although all Indian tribes of Western Amazonas use arrow-poison, only a few of

them make it; most of them seem to obtain it by way of inter-tribal trade. This is indeed quite natural, considering that the vegetable ingredients necessary for its preparation cannot be obtained everywhere even in tropical South America. But it should also be remembered that the preparation of the arrow-poison is regarded by the Indians as a secret requiring great skill and experience and therefore is necessarily limited to certain tribes, or rather individuals of certain tribes, who make it a profession. Just as there are tribes particularly skilled in making pottery, so there are professional poison makers who jealously guard the secret of their art. Other tribes may prepare the poison, but they do not know how to make it effective enough and therefore prefer to buy it from their neighbours or other tribes who make a stronger kind. Moreover, a tribe may be particularly famed for its poison, if there arises in that tribe a poison maker who acquires greater skill in that art than the rest. The professional poison-maker is always a kind of sorcerer and in the same social position as a medicine-man; other members of the tribe as a rule know nothing of his secrets. This was particularly pointed out to me by a medicine-man at Canelos and by the Jibaros of the Pastaza. [145]

The Canelos Indians, or rather some of them, are quite skilled in the preparation of the arrow-poison and make it the object of a sort of trade with neighbouring tribes.

Yet they frequently buy another and stronger kind from a half-civilized tribe on the Huallaga south of the Marañon whom they call Chasutas and who are renowned as skilled poison-makers. These as well as the Ticunas, another tribe on the Amazon, are--or were formerly--the chief makers of poison in the upper Amazon region. The Canelos Indians try to imitate the Chasutas, but they confessed to me that they are not able to make the poison equally strong because, as they said, 'the Chasutas mix certain other ingredients in their poison which they keep secret and which, perhaps, do not exist in our country at all'. According to Chantre y Herrera the strong Ticuna poison was made of 'more than 30 herbs, fruits, and roots'(1) and about the same number of vegetable ingredients are used in preparing the poison of the Canelos Indians."

"1. Chantre y Herrera, Historia de las misiones de la Compania de Jesús en el Marañon Español, p. 87."

2: Stirling-2 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 103, 171

"There are, however, certain fairly stable large geographic groupings which appear to feel a certain unity, and to which general group names have been attached. The Jivaros proper are those which dwell in the basins of the Zamora and Upano Rivers and on the upper Pastaza. The Antipas live on the right bank of the Santiago from the Zamora to the Alto Marañon. The Aguarunas live on the right bank of the Marañon between the Nieve and Apaga Rivers. The Huambizas occupy the right bank of the Morona and Mangosia Rivers, including all of the territory west to the left bank of the Santiago, from the Cordillera of Cuticu to the Marañon. The Achuales occupy the territory between the Pastaza and Morona Rivers from Lake Puralina north to Andoas.

The Jivaros scattered over this vast territory of approximately 25,000 square miles are of similar appearance physically; they speak a single language and their customs, beliefs, and material culture are closely interrelated. With this, however, their unity ends. The scores of small independent groups, living for the most part on the headwaters of the tributary streams, are constantly at war, one group with another."

2: Stirling--61-62 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"There is considerable archeological evidence that the preparation of shrunken heads was practiced in pre-Columbian times over a rather wide area in Peru. Representations of reduced trophy heads occur commonly in both ceramic and textile art and less frequently in carvings on stone and shell. Max Uhle in 1908 noted pottery vessels from Ica and Nasca decorated with paintings of head trophies, 'showing the custom of closing the mouth by means of sewing in the manner now used on the reduced heads produced by the [62] Jivaros.' (73) At Tiahuanaco there are carved stone figures of warriors carrying trophy heads. (74) Castelnau figures two effigy jars, one from La Paz and the other from Cuzco, decorated in the art style of Tiahuanaco (pl. 34 c). Both of these have likenesses of reduced heads. Tello figures one in which a warrior is shown holding two shrunken heads by the hair. (75)

Tello states that figures of shrunken heads are common in the art of Chimu and reproduces from Baessler (76) two representations of a jaguar divinity shown in each instance carrying a shrunken human head by the hair. These were taken from Chimbote. He further makes the statement that this same divinity represented carrying the shrunken human head trophy occurs in the black ware of northern Peru."

"73. Uhle, p. 263.
74. Tello, 1918, p. 23.
75. Tello, 1918, p. 24.
76. Baessler, pl. 60, fig. 240, and pl. 71, fig. 261."

"It is in the region of Nasca, however, where evidence of head trophies is most abundant. Tello illustrates numerous examples from various localities, some on textiles and others on pottery (77) (fig. 1).

As final evidence of the former use of head trophies in this region, Tello figures a number of actual examples recovered from graves. While these head trophies were not of the shrunken variety, there is much about them reminiscent of the present-day Jivaro tsantsa (pl. 34, d). The frontal bone was perforated with a circular hole and the head suspended by means of a cord which passed through this hole and on through the foramen magnum, where it was kept in place by being fastened to a transverse wooden peg. This method of suspension recalls the technique employed by the Jivaro, but the most striking comparison is to be found in the preparation of the lips, which were pulled forward and skewered together by means of wooden pegs in precisely the manner employed by the Jivaro. Tello states that these heads are from graves representing a late period and in several instances they are post-Columbian. It would appear that these trophy heads were either prepared by people who had formerly practiced the shrinking of heads or who had been in contact with such people. In preparing reduced heads it is necessary to skewer or sew the lips, whereas this would not be essential when the heads were mummified without removing the skull. Since there are so many representations in earlier Nasca

"77. Tello, 1918, pp. 34-53."

art showing what seem to be true reduced heads, it seems likely that the head trophy, prepared without removing the skull, in this region at least, developed out of the more highly specialized technique of shrinking heads. [63]

When Lubbock presented his article on Jivaro shrunken heads before the British Anthropological Institute in 1874 Franks called to his attention a specimen in the National Collection of London, which had been presented by the Prince Consort of 1853. This example is described as being about 1 inch in height, attached to a stick and dressed like a doll. It was said to have been discovered in a tomb in Pisco, Peru. (78)"

"78. Lubbock, 1874, pp. 29-32."

"There are several references in contemporary writings of the sixteenth century indicating that it was a common practice among the Incas to take the heads of enemies killed in warfare and to return with them as trophies. Cobo reports that the Inca, Tupac [64] Yupanqui, having learned of a revolt led by the chiefs of Collao, sent an army which successfully put down the rebellion. Cobo says:

> He flayed two of the most important chiefs and he ordered two drums made of their skins, with which and with the heads of those killed placed on lances and many prisoners to sacrifice to the sun, he returned triumphantly to his court where he celebrated these victories with many sacrifices and festivities. (79)

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti says that---

> Inca Yupanqui in the war that his father Huiracacho had with the Chancas, fought with great ferocity, destroying the Ancohallos and Chancas and breaking through victorious up to Quiyachili, where he cut off the heads of the enemy generals Tomay Huaraca, Asto Huaraca, and Huasco Tomay Rima. ***(80)

"79. Cobo, pp. 168-169, cited in Tello, 1918, pp. 20-21.
80. Pachacuti, pp. 271-272, cited in Tello, 1918, p. 21."

Pachacuti states further that Yupanqui on returning to his city sent to his father presents consisting of heads of the Chancas and Hancoaillos.

Referring to Huayna Capac, Pachacuti says that after conquering those who were fortified at Sacsahuan---

> he enters the fort and takes out all the Carambis and Pastos and those who took part in the war, and the severed heads of the defeated which had been prepared for this purpose, he anoints with the blood of llamas and puts them on the spears. They display them, gloating over them as far as Curicancha. * * *.

The heads mentioned above were very probably of the type described by Tello from Nasca in which the skulls were not removed. There are, however, other references which indicate that shrunken heads prepared in precisely the manner now practiced by the Jivaros were still being made in various places in northwestern South America at the time of the Conquest."

"Estete, who went to Peru with Pizarro on his third voyage in 1527, describes the practice as it was then followed on the Ecuadorian coast.

> The heads of the dead they preserve with certain balsams in this manner: After removing the skull through the neck, the face, retaining its true form of nose, eyes, eyelashes, eyebrows, and hair, they cure and give it a certain confection by means of which they preserve the flesh or skin so that it does not rot, and the gristle of the nose is entire and the hair and eyebrows and eyelashes (remain) attached to the flesh. So many are the baths that they give it, so as to cure and preserve it, that they make the face of a man to be wasted and shrunken and become quite small, much more so even than that of a newborn child. After having reduced it to a small size, they guard it in some small chests that they have in the temple, and it lasts so many years without rotting that the Indians say it lasts for two or three ages. Certainly it is a thing to admire, and one never seen before. And so it seemed to us when we[65] first saw it, holding it to be certain that they were faces of a race of dwarfs that had lived in the country, until we learned the truth of the matter. (81)

Zárate, who went to Peru in 1543, wrote in 1555 concerning the natives of Pasao (82)

81. Estete, p. 317.

82. Cape Pasado is on the coast of the provinces of Manabi, a little north of Bahia de Caráquez.

near the Equator:

> In some temples, especially in the towns that they call of Pasao, on all the posts of these there were men and children crucified, the bodies or the skins so well cured that they did not smell badly and fastened to the posts many heads of Indians that had been shrunken with a certain decoction until only the size of a fist. (83)

Figueroa, writing of the Itucalis of the Mainas provinces in 1665, states that when they have taken a head they insert a palm husk in an incision on the bridge of the nose, which forms an excrescence when it heals and thus indicates the number of heads each individual has to his credit. (84) Regarding the preparation of the heads he says:

> The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. (85)"

"83. Zarate, 1555, p. 465.

84. Juan de Salinas evidently refers to this mutilation of the nose, when in 1557 he encountered the Mainas and states that they were made striking by a 'device of the nose, not seen before.'

85. Skinner, 1805, p. 289."

"More details from Figueroa are given in the chapter on warfare. It is interesting to note that boiling, the most essential process in connection with head shrinking, is here mentioned for the first time, and as far as the writer is aware, is not mentioned again in any account until the present century.

In 1692 Father Lucero was with General Vaca when they captured 21 Jivaros who were surprised 'while they were celebrating with loud shouting, a solemn drunken feast because of having killed two famous wizards whose heads they had in the middle of the gathering.' (86)

Saffray, while traveling among the Cuans and Caimanes Indians on the Atrato River in northwestern Colombia in 1866, received from an old Indian by the name of Comagré the following information:

> When a chief dies his body is placed above a slow fire on a frame, until completely desiccated, then it is wrapped in cotton cloth decorated with gold, pearls, and jewels, and it is religiously cared for in a separate room. Of the common people, they preserve only the head. Comagré showed me one of these mummified heads. The bones had been taken out, and it had been dried in such a manner

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"86. Chantre y Herrera, p. 305."

> that the skin, having been contracted in a uniform manner, [66] remained a perfect reproduction of the original, reduced to almost one-sixth of its original size, without wrinkles and without deformation of the features.

Saffray reproduces a crude drawing of this head which seems to be identical with the Jivaro tsantsa as it even has the string tassels depending from the lips. It seems possible to the present writer that this specimen may have been imported from the Jivaros, but if the information is correct as quoted above it is of unusual interest. (87)

Some other tribes employ methods of preserving the bodies of their enemies that suggest the technique of the Jivaros. Mendoza, speaking of the Popayan of southern Colombia, says:

> The skins of the corpses that they have eaten, having been flayed, are filled with coarse ashes and they have attached them to the walls of their houses like people. (88)

Lorente, referring to the pre-Columbian Huancas of the Jauja Valley, Peru, says that these natives skinned their prisoners and with these skins, which they filled with ashes, made victory trophies which they exhibited in their temples. (89)

"87. Saffray, 1873, p. 103.
88. Colección Documentos Inéditos, vol. V, 1866, p. 489.
89. Lorente, 1860, p. 82."

At the time of the Conquest similar practices were followed as far north as the Panuco River in Mexico. In the Huastec country the Conquistadores on visiting a native temple found that the heads of their captured companions had been skinned and tanned and then placed on the walls of the structure. It was a common practice in Mexico to skin the heads of sacrificial victims and exhibit them on poles. These heads were described by the Spaniards as being dried, wrinkled, and shrunk to the size of the heads of small children. (90)

The stone monuments at Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa in Guatemala display numerous carvings depicting warriors holding human trophy heads which apparently have been reduced. There are many indications that Santa Lucia Cosumalhuapa was subjected to Nahuatl influence. Fowler (91) describes the practice of head shrinking reputed to be carried on by Indians in the interior of British Honduras. The account, however, emanated from Father Pozzi, who had previously spent a number of years in the Jivaro country, and it is obvious that his descriptions apply to the Jivaros of Ecuador and not to any Honduran tribe."

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90. Thompson, 1933, pp. 124-125.
91. Fowler, 1879, p. 16."

12: Rivet--338 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 162, 171

The savages who live in this immense territory present an absolute ethnic unity: their customs and habits are totally distinct from the customs and habits of their neighbors to the northeast, the Záparos, as well as from their neighbors to the south, in the Peruvian province of Loreto (1). Moreover, they speak a single language which differs from the languages spoken in the neighboring regions. (2) These two proved facts empower the ethnologist to unite them under the name of Jíbaros.

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1. Raimondi, op. cit.
2. I have a large vocabulary of the Jivaro language, which I will make the subject of a further linguistic study.

22: Hamy--391-392 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171, 727

"We have said that the ethnographic documents, as limited as they are, confirm the viewpoint just presented. The information of this type, whose [392] value should not be exaggerated, have, for a comparative study of human groups, a great importance. As regards South America in particular, they have such characteristic usages, such special customs, mores so peculiar to certain races, that when they are met even among distant peoples who preserve no memory of their common origin, one is almost justified in placing them in the same ethnic group.

Among these characteristics, there is one which we are going to describe in the Jivaro, and which is common to almost all the Guaranis: it is that which consists of the fabrication, with the aid of processes yet little known, of these hideous preserved heads, which we are beginning to see in certain number in our European ethnographic museums. From Para and Cumana to the Cordillera, all the Guarani savages make with the chief of the vanquished enemies trophies ornamented with plumes, with bird skins, etc., and which do not differ from each other except in the details of preparation.

Cajas, Mauhès, Mondurucus, Gentios Bravos, etc..., preserve in their own manner, the souvenir of their victories. And these are the spoils of a hostile general prepared in a slightly different manner by the Jivaros who have contributed the most to making known this fierce Indian family."

22: Hamy--397 (No date) 1873 Jivaro
116, 171

"The arms, the varied ornaments, the paintings, etc., which we know of these same Indians; the lance, the javelin and the blow-gun [sarabacane], the round buckle, the crown of plumes of the skin of the monkey, the necklaces of teeth of men, monkeys, and jaguars, the ornaments of black, white and red grains, the circles which they put in the lobule of the ear for attaching the feathers, the yellow and black painting with which they adorn the body, all this is common to the Jivaro and to the greater part of the Indians of the Amazon, of Brazil or of Guiana."

25. Vigna--35 [3] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 144, 171

The Jîbaro group differs greatly from the other natives of Ecuador, in tradition, custom, and language. Types who show evidence of crossing with the white race are difficult to find, and the few and rare cases can only be explained by the abduction of white women by the Jíbaros in reprisals of vengeance.

30: Franco--140 [2] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 727, 171

"These reductions [KS: mummified heads] are one of the mysteries and secrets of our Indians and another of the coincidences of this race with the mummifiers of the other East. There is no one who does not marvel at this art of the forest dwellers. Our Jíbaros have the fame and "beat the record" of mummifiers; however they are not the only tribes who practive it in America.

30: Franco--142 [4] (no date) 1935 Jívaro
116, 171, 727

The custom of making tzhantzhas has not been confined to the Jíbaros. Its existence is evident in Tiahuanacu, in Pirú, in Manab; and the conquest observed some mummified Inca kings. This proves the contact and perhaps unity of the present Jíbaros with the ancient tribes who were civilized. The puruhaes sacrificed to the Chimborazo twice a year a young and handsome Indian girl, as well as the first born; they they embalmed them and preserved them with great veneration in their houses in beautiful vases made for the purpose.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

1916–1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930–31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jivaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.[9] As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "*shaton*" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jivaro proper.

NOTES

[9] This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangui in the east. The *untsuri huara* comprise the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature on the "Jivaro proper," "Jivaro," "Jibaro," "Ecuadorian Jivaro," or "*Shuara*." This last term, *huara*, does not mean "Jivaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jivaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untsuri huara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jivaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*shuara huara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jivaroan culture so far has been on the *untsuri huara* or Jivaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achual), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jivaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish *a*
- e English *i* in *sit*
- i Spanish *i* (nasalized when adjacent to *n*)
- u Spanish *u*

Consonants

- ch Spanish *ch*
- b English *b* (palatized, labialized when preceded by *u*)
- k English *k* (palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish *m*, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish *n* (palatized when following *i* or *i* plus a nasal consonant, voiced like Spanish *h* when *i* is adjacent)

32:Harner E-S (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

225
825
114
123
171

[3] Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

[4] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Gravley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Aguaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Yarinacocha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Corrientes, eastern Ecuador.

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34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

stuck through the hair over the ear, wrapped at one end with kapok to provide resistance when blown. The speed with which the darts are produced makes the blowgun an extremely economical weapon to operate compared, for example, to the bow and arrow, with which the Jivaro are not acquainted. Arrow making, as I have observed among the Conibo Indians of the Río Ucayali region of eastern Peru, is a comparatively time-consuming process, and there is always the danger of losing arrows in the treetops when hunting monkeys or birds. Blowgun darts, on the other hand, are so easy to make that their loss means little to the hunter. Also, from what I have observed, blowguns tend to be more accurate in hunting small birds at close range. A final hunting advantage, compared to the bow and arrow, is that the motion involved in using the weapon is so slight, and the flight of the darts so unnoticeable, that game is rarely disturbed if the hunter misses his target. Of course, compared to a firearm, the blowgun is even more economical, but limited in range and not sufficiently fast-acting on large or dangerous game.

Dogs are commonly used in hunting peccary, jaguars, and ocelots, although a hunter, armed with a shotgun or carbine, may stalk them alone. When taking a dog on a peccary hunt, the man is accompanied by a wife, who handles the leashed dog, and also is frequently assisted by another male hunter. Even in hunting dangerous felines, only one dog is used to tree the cat, but up to a dozen people may participate.

Blinds, game calls, and traps are the main supplementary hunting devices. Conical blinds, made by sticking palm fronds into the ground, may be constructed at feeding places of toucans, agouti, or other creatures. Game calls are employed both in blinds and when stalking. Hunters call parrots without the aid of any devices, but blow against the

36 Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

000 dwell south of the present Ecuadorian border, which prevented the author from visiting them and making a field comparison.

[114] The Achuara, whom the author did visit, are frequently confused with the Jivaro in the literature and also are commonly included in the latter term by Ecuadorians who are not familiar with the distinctions between the two tribes or dialect groups. Salient cultural features that distinguish the Achuara from the Jivaro include the following: permanent matrilocality; weaving is done by the women, the women wear a tupina skirt rather than a dress over one shoulder; the men's kilt is predominantly white rather than reddish-brown; two doors are commonly located in the women's end of the house; a stockade may be built outside the house in times of heightened hostilities; and—other times houses often have no walls at all. The permanent matrilocality results in household populations considerably in excess of those normally found among the Jivaro, which has contributed to contradictions in the literature by explorers and others who were unaware, in fact, that they were seeing the Achuara.

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[127] 13. Cieza de León, 1945, pp. 197-98; González Suárez, 1890, p. 14. Many of the sources cited by Stirling, 1938, in his compilation of historical materials, are not utilized here because they actually refer to Jivaroan groups other than the Jivaro proper (Antonio Ituralde).

14. Jiménez de la Espada, 1965, Tomo 4, pp. 179-77.

[231] [235] 15. It was probably at about this time that the Jivaro initially obtained chickens and pigs. The presence of pigs among the Jivaro is first definitely reported in 1885 by Lucero, 1892, p. 37. However, records are so fragmentary that it seems safe to assume that this report could have followed the actual introduction by a century or longer.

[195] 16. Velasco, 1840, p. 150; Lucero, 1892, p. 33. The present writer is inclined to place Sevilla del Oro on the middle Río Upano (the Sucúa-Huambi area), because significant placer gold deposits do not occur on the upper portion of the river and because early reports of its latitude seem more consistent with such a location.

17. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, p. 45. Translated by the author.

18. Velasco, 1840, p. 153, and n.d., p. 91.

19. Translated by the author from Velasco, 1840, pp. 153-57.

20. Lucero, 1892, p. 34.

21. Accounts of some of these ill-fated attempts may be found in Velasco, n.d., pp. 103-17, 203, 209-10, 286-288, and in Velasco, 1840, pp. 158-60.

22. Jiménez de la Espada, 1897, pp. 47-49.

23. Macabeos oral histories. Cf. also Barranca, n.d.

24. Oral history provided by elderly Macabeos and Jivaro; Campos, 1883, p. 36; Vacas Galindo, 1892, p. 49; Villavicencio, 1858, pp. 388, 400-01.

25. From oral histories given by elderly Jivaro.

26. E.g., Bollaert, 1863.

27. Anonymous, 1932, p. 30. During the 1870's, the population of Sucúa was estimated to be 300 (Reiss, 1880, p. 319).

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reported by Davidson (1966, p. 68) whose Jivaro families, and apparently households, are stated to range from 15 to 46 persons, with an average of approximately 30. Such figures may often occur among the Achuara, who practice permanent matrilocal residence, but Davidson's study does not deal with that tribe. Two of Davidson's neighborhoods, Patuca and Yutupata, were encompassed by the Ecuadorian census of 1950 (Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1954: pp. 158, 191) of Jivaro in the Río Upano Valley and included in the aerial count of Jivaro houses by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1956–57. A comparison of the SIL Jivaro house count with the census figures for the Jivaro population in the Río Upano Valley, in which both the Patuca and Yutupata neighborhoods are located, yields an average population of 9.2 persons per dwelling. On these grounds, as well as first-hand observations, it is difficult to accept Davidson's "family" figures as representative household populations except under unusual circumstances. The few years separating these reports do not seem to be enough to account for this discrepancy and, in fact, informants' enumeration of the composition of earlier "large" households only rarely yielded figures beyond the range of 15 to 20 inhabitants.

1. Murdock, 1949, p. 80.

2. In the Jivaro language *kakaramu* and *kakarma* are the same word, their last vowel and consonant being interchangeable, and the precise meaning is clarified by the morphological context. Since the word is being used here out of its linguistic context, *kakarma* is restricted to the designation of "power," and *kakaramu* to the designation of "powerful one" in accordance with the observed tendency of use and in order to avoid confusion.

3. Elderly informants agree that the basic concept and practice of *amigri* trading partners in Jivaro culture antedates ca. 1920, although its intensification and elaboration are recent developments. The investigator failed to find any evidence of a historical connection between the Jivaro *amigri* concept and the Latin American *compadrazgo*. The frontier Jivaro and the Ecuadorians of Macas (the Macabeos) do reciprocally use the term *hompa* (*compadre*) to address one another, but this is a general term used between any Macabeo and any Jivaro without the implications of personal obligation.

CHAPTER IV

1. *Arutam* may also be pronounced *aruntam*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

2. Stillman, 1927, pp. 381, 388.

3. Castaneda, 1968, and Harner, 1973.

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000 [123] 2. The author has never participated in a war expedition, although he was invited to join one emanating from the Río Chiguasa region against the Achuara in 1957. The description which follows, therefore, is based entirely on informants' accounts.

3. The chant is recorded in Harner, 1972.

• 171 439 177 765 532 727 778 [825] 4. The Jívaro, their Jivaroan neighbors, and the Candoshi are the only people within the past few centuries known to make the *tsantsa*. In addition, the Jívaro claim that the Achuara and the Huambisa learned the art from them in fairly recent times and formerly did not cut off heads in war. The Candoshi, in turn, state that they learned the practice fairly recently from the Achuara and Huambisa (Wallis, 1965, pp. 37–40). During the earlier decades of the present century, the craft was practiced by unscrupulous entrepreneurs using the heads of unclaimed dead in Guayaquil and Panama, which they passed off as Jívaro to tourists (see Karsten, 1935, pp. 81–82; Stirling, 1938, pp. 76–78; and Up de Graff, 1923, footnote, p. 283). Sometimes they went so far as to shrink the skins of entire bodies, a practice which, when I described it to Jívaro informants, was greeted with incredulity. The sale of shrunken heads is illegal in Ecuador and only imitations (although sometimes the sellers pretend they are not), made from monkey heads or the skins of other animals, now seem to be marketed.

000 [551] 5. Name of the victim. The victim's name is usually learned from captured women or from persons who have interacted with the Achuara in trade.

CHAPTER VI

[821] 1. The appearance of this comet is well remembered, and in fact informants recalled that in one neighborhood some Jívaro attempted to reach it by building a wooden tower!

[127] 2. Vacas Galindo, 1895, p. 49; Compte, 1885, p. 56; and oral histories recorded by the author.

3. *Head Hunters of the Amazon* by F. W. Up de Graff, 1923 (Dodd, Mead and Company).

4. The introduction of a few steel tools to the frontier Jívaro in the vicinity of Macas in the mid-nineteenth century may have increased garden size and production at that time, judging from oral traditions. However, oral information on events so far in the past is not included as evidence in this account of cultural change. A previous version of this material, with comparative data, appeared in Harner, 1968b.

EPILOGUE

[114] 1. I am indebted to Padre Shukta and Peter Hart for their assistance in obtaining some of the information contained in this section.